466 Chih-k'uei became exhausted on a sixteen-hour work-shift, grew careless, and caused his own death.

The Communists are aware of the dangers of strenuous labor emulation. Recently the regime has encouraged the observance of safety measures and adequate training of workers, and abnormal extension of working hours is discouraged.

III. WAGES AND PURCHASING POWER OF CHINESE WORKERS

•465 In 1948 and 1949, the method of computing wages was in a state of confusion. At first, wages were calculated in terms of rice and millet. For example, in Peking in 1949, the privately-owned Yung-feng Chemical Works graded its workers according to their skills: in the first group each worker received 5.5 catties of rice (about 6 lbs) per day; in the second group, 5 catties (about 5.5 lbs); and in the third group, 4 catties (about 4.4 lbs). In Tientsin, at the end of 1949, each transportation worker earned almost 15 catties (about 16.5 lbs) of rice per day.[21]

In order to safeguard the workers' earnings against fluctuations of commodity prices, the Chinese Communists adopted a wage-unit system at the end of 1951. The wage-unit was based

21. Worker's Daily, Dec. 17, 1949, p. 4.

465 on the price of specified commodities. According to Chin-pu Jih-pao [Progress Daily], Tientsin, October 26, 1951, the monetary value of one wage-unit was equal to the sum of the retail values of the following commodities sold in the government stores:

Millet	0.48 catty
Flour	0.32 catty
Vegetable oil	0.05 catty
Coal	2.00 catties
Salt	0.02 catty
Cotton cloth	0.20 ch'ih

(One catty equals 1.10 lb; one ch'ih equals 1.09 f[illegible]t.)

The monetary value of the wage-unit was announced daily by the local government. In North China it was first quoted at 2,323 yuan (old currency, about US$ 0.09).[22] In this region, the highest paid worker received about 300 units per month and the lowest paid worker about 60 units per month. The average earning per month was about 200 units, equivalent to 464,600 yuan (old currency, about US$ 1[illegible]0).[23]

434 The Communists asserted that the earnings
465 of Chinese workers were increasing with the

22. Progress Daily, Oct. 26, 1951, p. 2.

23. Worker's Daily, Dec. 15, 1949; China Weekly, Feb. 14, 1955, pp. 13-21; Kung-fei Ti Min-chung Yün-tung [The Mass Movement in Communist China], Taipei, 1951, pp. 37-38.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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465 advance in labor productivity. As monetary wages rose, the Communists claimed "this increase was not an attempt to keep pace with a rising cost of living but a real increase in the workers' living standard."[24] The Communists insisted that a real increase in wages was reflected in the higher purchasing power of the Chinese people. In North China, purchasing power was reported to have advanced 30 per cent from 1950 to 1951 and another 16.3 per cent from 1951 to 1952. (The amount of pork consumed in Peking was claimed to be six times greater in 1954 than in 1949.)[25]

An examination of the prices of daily necessities in mid-1955 shows that in comparison to average earnings the cost of living for the Chinese worker was still very high.[26] In North China at that time, the cost of one pair of men's socks was 0.70 yuan (about US$ 0.28), one catty (1.10 lbs) of sugar 0.76 yuan (about US$ 0.30), one catty of beef 0.72 yuan (about US$ 0.28), and one dozen eggs 0.72 yuan. During the same period, the monetary value of one wage-unit was quoted at 0.2553 yuan and the average monthly wage was about 200 units, approximately 50 yuan (about US$ 20.00).[27]

In spite of the high cost of living, the income of the Chinese workers is subject to

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24. People's China, May 1, 1955, pp. 3-5.

25. Economic Bulletin, Hong Kong, Feb. 24, 1953, p. 10; Dec. 31, 1954, p. 22.

26. Communist China adopted a new currency system on March 1, 1955. One new yuan equals 10,000 old yuan or US$ 0.40.

27. Ta-kung Daily, Tientsin, June 28, 1955.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

many "voluntary" contributions, to various campaigns as well as the all-but-compulsory purchase of government bonds. In 1950, the Communist government issued Victory Bonds, and North China was allocated 1,500,000 points.[28] The workers in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan were pressed to buy the bonds by trade union officials and Party members.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Labor Insurance and Health

Under the Labor Insurance Law, promulgated by the Ministry of Labor in March 1951 and revised in January 1953, there has been an increase in health facilities in factories and mines in North China. In June 1954, this area had more than 200 sanatoriums and rest homes with a total of more than 6,000 beds, and several similar institutions were under construction.[29] In 1949, Tientsin completed a workers' hospital with a staff of 82 to care for 200 patients daily. Tangshan industrial district in Hopei Province has a modern hospital with 330 beds.[30]

Old age pensions have been introduced in Communist China under the Labor Insurance Law. The aged workers of the famous T'ung-jen

28. Worker's Daily, Oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

29. People's China, June 1954, p. 39.

30. Worker's Daily, Dec. 2, 1949, p. 4; Tsu-kuo Tsai Ch'ien-chin [China Forges Ahead], Vol. II, Peking San-lien shu-tien, p. 296.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

"If a head porter is too stingy he may be boycotted." The group head, who grinds the carriers down to the last copper and who keeps all the tips and profits above the regular wages, is likely to find a sullen group of men on his hands who are unwilling to undertake the job he has contracted for. 467* 482

Our informant, when asked to analyze the source of the guild's authority over the action of its members, checked off the following headings: "fear, tradition, mutual advantage, the personal influence of leaders." He added, significantly, in his own words, "the problem of a living." The guild insures that great essential, the full rice bowl.

Although the system of apprenticeship has now been abolished, certain details are reported regarding the past system. "The apprentice would divide his earnings with his master at the ratio of four to six." The term of apprenticeship was only one year. In semi-skilled labor, such as was carried on by the porters, it is natural that the time for training should be greatly reduced from the usual three years and three months required by most of the craft guilds.[1] The large proportion of earnings kept by the apprentices is very different from the custom in most guilds, where apprentices receive no regular earnings, but only special gifts or rewards at the festival season.

Two guild functions mentioned are the fixing of a minimum wage and the detailed regulation of the division of money for any one job carried out by a group of porters when the total amount is more than is required to pay the recognized wage to all concerned. The established minimum wage is 200 coppers ($.58). The amount actually bargained for a specific job is determined by the head of the group concerned and the person who employs the porters. Definite wages are paid the common porters. The profits on the job over and above these wages go in the West section or "pass" 465 • 467* 482

[1] *Cf.* p. 160.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

to the head of the group who made the bargain. In the East section or "pass" the surplus is divided among all who did the work. Furthermore, in the West section individual porters cannot bargain for a job directly. They must do only work agreed upon by the head of their group. The implication is that in the East section such direct bargaining is allowed. Here, then, we have minute regulations differing between the two divisions of this small guild, indicating a very fine differentiation and standardization of customary practice.

In discussing the functions of this guild, the head man reiterated the importance of the monopoly privilege. "Non-members are not allowed to carry goods for pay." The guild's principal function, then, is to see that no one other than a guild member carries on this type of work in guild territory.

Unlike most of the guilds studied, which have only one yearly meeting, this guild has two regular meetings, one at the *Miao Feng Shan,* or temple, on the sixth day of the fourth month, which is the objective of the yearly pilgrimage and the other at the Temple in Peking, the *Niang Niang Miao,* on the seventeenth day of the ninth month.

At the regular Peking meeting both the Heavenly Fairy Holy Mother and the God of Wealth, the other special patron saint of the guild, are worshiped. Incense is burned before them. Two feasts, instead of the usual one given by most guilds, are celebrated. These feasts are considered as primarily for the "guild gods." [1]

At this meeting "reports of the past accomplishments" of the guild are made. "Lectures on duty and conduct" are given. "The ill-behaved are publicly warned." Only important matters are brought up for settlement. All minor matters are "settled by the elders." There is "full attend-

[1] The details of the religious ritual are given on pp. 181-182.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 call together a meeting of representatives of the six districts
335 " at some tea house " to discuss procedure.

Guild meetings may be divided roughly into three types: (a) The informal conferences either of the committee or of the committee and representatives called from the other five districts. (b) A preliminary meeting held in the third month if there is to be a change in the wage scale. (c) The general or religious meeting held always on the fifth day of the fifth month.

At the informal conferences such matters as the following are discussed: The suggesting to the annual guild meeting of a change of wages, details regarding ceremony of worship, emergency matters which cannot wait for the guild
• 465 meeting. At the preliminary meeting in the third month the main subject is a change in the wage scale. We are told both in conversation with Mr. Chiao and in the written report that often the discussion regarding wages waxes very warm and there are frequent cases of fist fights which sometimes make it necessary to bring in the police to settle the dispute; but when the wage is once determined upon it is considered as the fixed minimum until a further decision of the
782 guild. At the general meeting which is held in the *Ching Chung Temple,* the invitation to which reads as a call to worship Lu Pan, the founder of the guild, and to prepare a feast and a play for him, the religious ceremony is the central feature. The committee in charge for the year meets the day before to make full preparations. The members as they arrive register and pay their fees for the year. Each guildsman worships before the Master Lu Pan as soon as he has registered. Later a play is given by professional actors. Before and after the play and between the acts business is discussed. The guild rules are read, an announcement is made regarding the punishment of offenders and the names of absent members are read. On the day of the religious cere-

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 335 the revered guild founder and thus publicly acknowledging one's fault. The last resort in case of the failure of all other measures is expulsion from the guild.

The term of apprenticeship is the usual three years and three months or three years and one festival season. A youth applying for an apprenticeship in a shop must have two or more guarantors who stand responsible for his good conduct. No written contract is made. The clothing is supplied for the apprenticeship period by the apprentice or his family. He is given food and lodging in the shop.

• 465 Apprentices who work for masters who have no shops pay for their own food and receive the wages of unskilled laborers. The conditions of food and shelter are described as ordinary, "not very bad." This, of course, is an extremely indefinite statement. At the time of the study the fixed wage determined on at the previous annual meeting was $.75 a day. It was considered that $.20 of this was for food and $.55 for wages proper. In case the carpenters were working out and buying their own food they received $.75, but if working in a shop where food was supplied, only $.55.

*467 335 The hours of work are in general from sunrise to sunset, varying consequently according to the time of year. The usual daily schedule is described thus: "The workers commence operations at sunrise and work for two hours. They then take breakfast, after which they work until noon, at which time they drink tea and rest, commencing work again at one o'clock and continuing until three, at which time luncheon is served. After lunch they work again until sunset."

*467 465 335 The following information is given regarding the criteria for determining wages: "Wages are determined according to the standard of living. The increase of wages is usually in the spring." This general statement corresponds closely

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

with Mr. Gamble's study of wages in Peking. He points out that because of the close personal relations between head carpenters and their workmen and apprentices, the heads know the actual living conditions of the workmen. The artisan is accustomed to a very simple standard of living. If he can maintain that standard he is content. If changes in prices or in money exchange threaten his standard, the guild very quickly changes the rate of pay.[1] The carpenters, like most skilled artisans in Peking, have no representative of their guild in the general Chamber of Commerce; but unlike most of the guilds in the city, they have a very close working relation with two other guilds, namely, the masons and the painters. Formerly the carpenters and masons belonged to one guild. The reasons for this cooperative relation given by Mr. Chang are: (1) all three worship the same guild founder; (2) because of the similarity of trades, all being related to the building occupation, it is the custom to increase wages in all three groups at the same time; (3) in the construction of buildings the three groups necessarily cooperate. In recent years many members of these three guilds have been engaged in the construction in Peking of Western-style as well as Chinese-style buildings. In all three trades it has been necessary to adapt the age-long practice of the craft to the demands of Westerners or of Chinese who had a Western preference for buildings constructed in other than the Chinese style. Frequently, also, it has been necessary to deal with foreign contractors in construction work such as the residences of missionaries, the hotels and the Union Medical College buildings. An attempt to establish a super-guild to include these three groups, to be known as the Lu Pan Industrial Union, is described in detail by Mr. Gamble. The failure of this attempt,

[1] Meng Gamble, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-106.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*467 guild was to worship the master and to express thankfulness
335 for his having handed down the technique (of carpentry).
782 The members come to the guild meetings for the purpose of worship and religious observance."

●465 The guildsman interviewed said that he saw signs of prosperity in his craft and that the membership was increasing: "The rent for houses is now high; therefore men are building new houses, and consequently there is more demand for carpenters. The wages also are increasing to keep pace with the rising cost of living." This general observation is in harmony with Mr. Gamble's study, *Prices, Wages, and the Standard of Living in Peking*. Because of the increasing cost of living the guild had changed the wages from a copper to a dollar basis, which meant a considerable increase.

*467 Several years before the Boxer Uprising of 1900, certain
177 missionaries in Tung Chow, fifteen miles east of Peking,
335 had been training carpenters in the methods of constructing foreign houses. There has also been an increasing demand for homes for missionaries and for Christian school buildings, for business houses, stores and, more recently, hotels, government colleges and schools constructed in the Western style, as well as a general demand on the part of many wealthy Chinese for foreign-style houses. As a result a very considerable number of these guildsmen are now trained in the methods of constructing buildings in the Western style.

Not only has the technique of the carpenters changed, but the attempt to form the Lu Pan Industrial Union referred to above signifies an endeavor to meet new conditions.

C. A Meeting of the Blind Guild

*467 In order to give a vivid picture of a meeting of one of the
732 most colorful guilds in Peking, there follows an account of a meeting held in the spring of 1919 given by an eyewitness,

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 few years when the prices of food and clothing have gone up so rapidly — "the standard of living of the workmen."

That in some cases the annual meeting practically resolves itself into a court for trial and punishment of offenders is vividly brought out in Gamble's description of the annual meeting of the Blind Guild.[1]

*441 *467 465 The foregoing summary of replies does not bring out an important contrast between the replies of the craft and professional guilds and those of the commercial guilds. In the replies of the craft and professional guilds there is great stress on the general discussion of wages, but there is no mention of wages in the replies of the commercial guilds, which place their emphasis on the improvement of the trade and their relations with the Chamber of Commerce and other organizations. It seems probable that the usual practice among the commercial guilds is to leave the matter of wages to the individual employer, while prices are settled largely at informal gatherings of the officers, elders, or committee men, rather than at the annual meetings. The Hat Stores report that "the guild heads can do things without the matter having to be passed by the majority." The Mutton Shops report that "except to amend the rules or expel the members all the business is accomplished by occasional meetings of the officers."

The annual meetings of the craftsmen and the professionals resemble a general free-for-all discussion of the question of prices and wages, whereas in the commercial organizations, shop owners and managers, or committees or groups of elders or boards of directors, seem to decide on the policies and programs of the guilds. Frequently practical working agreements as to prices or matters of guild policy are reached in very informal meetings of the leading store heads at restaurants or tea houses.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 102-106.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM

*441 *467 871 APPRENTICESHIP is the usual road to guild membership. Usually it is impossible to become a member without the training prescribed by the guilds. Students of one of the government schools in Peking who had been thoroughly trained in machine-shop work and had applied for positions in one of the local shops were rebuffed with these words: "You can't work on this job. You have never served an apprenticeship, and it is only after you have been a servant for three years that you can begin to learn something." [1]

A. EXTENT OF APPRENTICESHIP IN PEKING

This feature of the guilds, described by Morse, Williams, Macgowan and other writers on Chinese guilds as the apprenticeship system, is an essential part of the organization in nearly all of the guilds studied in Peking.

*441 *467 ● 465 871 The sixteen craft guilds all have this system. Among the commercial guilds, the workers in the Pork and Mutton Shops and the Vegetable Merchants have no regular method of apprenticeship. The Mutton Shops have only untrained workers. The employees of the Pork Shops are classified as follows: first grade, those who buy and sell pigs, receiving $15 a month; second grade, those who kill pigs, receiving $11 a month; third grade, those who catch the pigs and scrape off the bristles, receiving $4.50 a month; fourth grade, those who do odd jobs and watch the inner doors, receiving a monthly payment of $1.50. To the fourth grade workers belongs the pigs' blood, which is purchased by the workers

*441 467 871

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

(1) Through the replies to the questionnaire we are in a position to see what the guildsmen consider the principal functions of their organizations.

(2) The study of the regulations of the guilds of Peking and of the South reveals the standards of activity that these guildsmen set for themselves.

(3) The description of recorded guild happenings, either in Peking or in South China, shows us how guildsmen behave under certain circumstances.

We will first deal with material from our own investigation. The replies to questions pertaining to the functions of the guilds were more meager than in any other section. Perhaps the reason for this dearth of material is that the guild activities to be reported on seemed so common and ordinary to the reporters that they did not consider them worth mentioning. The customary procedure had become so closely identified with the very structure of the guildsmen's social world that in many cases our informants had never thought of how the guilds operated.

Already we have dealt with the limitations of the guild area [1] and the usual monopoly of the particular craft, trade or profession in the designated locality.[2] The same definiteness in the area of operation and an even greater insistance on one hundred per cent guild membership for all workers in the local district characterize the guilds of similar type in South and Central China described by Macgowan and Morse.[3]

Table XVII [3] shows that most guilds have no regulations concerning the fixing of prices and wages. In the craft guilds, prices are definitely fixed by only five groups and wages are definitely standardized by only nine groups out

[1] *Cf.* pp. 127-129.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 130-131.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 192-193.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XVII

GUILDS FIXING PRICES AND WAGES AND STANDARDIZING GOODS

	Guilds fixing prices	Guilds fixing wages	Guilds standardizing goods
Craft			
1. Awning Makers	No	Yes	
2. Confectionery Makers	"	No	
3. Carpenters	"	Yes	
4. Cloth Pasters	Yes	No	
5. Cloisonné Designers		Yes	No
6. Dyers	Yes		
7. Leather Box Makers	Yes	No	No
8. Masons		Yes	
9. Mat Tent Makers	No	No	
10. Paper Hangers	"	"	
11. Painters		Yes	
12. Shoe Fasteners	Yes	Yes	
13. Silk Thread Makers	No	No	
14. Tailors	Yes	Yes	
15. Table and Chair Makers		"	
16. Tinkers		Yes	
Total	5 yes	9 yes	0 yes
Commercial			
1. Clock Stores	Yes	No	No
2. Cloth Stores	No	No	
3. Coal Stores	Yes	"	
4. Confectionery Stores	No	"	
5. Dye Stuff Stores	"	"	
6. Fur Stores	No*	"	
7. Hat Stores	No	"	
8. Leather Stores	Yes	"	
9. Mutton Shops		"	
10. Oil Stores	No	"	
11. Pork Shops	"		
12. Rice and Flour Stores	"		
13. Restaurants	"	No	
14. Satin and Silk stores	"	"	
15. Second-hand Clothes Stores	"	"	
16. Shoe Stores	"	"	
17. Sweet Oil Stores	"	"	
18. Vegetable Sellers			
Total	3 yes	0 yes	0 yes

*Formerly fixed prices.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XVII—*Continued*

	Guilds fixing prices	Guilds fixing wages	Guilds standardizing goods
Professional			
1. Actors		No	
2. Barbers	Yes		
3. Blind	"	No	
4. Cooks		"	
5. Story Tellers		"	
6. Waiters		"	
7. Kitchen Coolies			
8. Porters	No	Yes	
Total	2 yes	1 yes	0 yes

of the sixteen. Among the professional guilds the Barbers, the Blind and the Porters have guild rates for their services, but only the Porters have a minimum guild-determined wage. In the commercial guilds the Clock Stores have regular rates for mending, and two other guilds have fixed prices. Wages are not determined by any of the commercial guilds. There were very few replies to the question about the standardization of goods. There is no evidence in the guildsmen's reports that there is any such practice.

The minute regulation and procedure carefully described by Morse and Macgowan seem to be lacking in most of the Peking guilds. The question naturally arises, if so few guilds regulate these important economic procedures, wherein lie their undoubted strength and control? The answer seems to be that the reports should be judged in the light of common practice rather than from the legalistic Western viewpoint, which always looks for a regulation or a law as a needed instrument for guiding economic relations of this type. Gamble[1] has brought out the fact that wages are

[1] Meng and Gamble, *Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking.*

4. Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

raised by the guilds when the prices of food rise or when money values fall. He shows that there is a very definite customary standard of living on the one hand for the unskilled laborers, and on the other, for the skilled artisans. The masters of the shops and stores recognize this standard and are quick to grant the needed increase whenever circumstances warrant. Custom rather than definite guild action largely determines wages in these guilds. The same is true, perhaps to a lesser degree, in relation to prices. No detailed study has been made of the prices of most of the products made or sold by the Peking guildsmen, but here also custom is probably a determining factor in establishing what is practically a guild rate for certain products.

The only evidence that we can find of any direct effort on the part of Peking guilds to standardize products is the attempt of the Rug Guild to set a definite price for rugs with a definite number of threads to the inch. This attempt failed because a poor quality of wool was introduced into the rugs of many of the merchants.[1] There is, however, evidence of guild control of weights and measures.[2] When a new store is organized for the sale of dyes, after the dues are paid, the guild presents the new store with a set of standard scales.

It is possible that in the earlier days there was more of an effort to standardize the goods made or sold. However, here also custom plays a very powerful rôle. In Pao Ting Fu, a large city south of Peking, certain definite types of brass teapots are made. There were only three or four very carefully fixed patterns. Other kinds of teapots simply were not made. Not until an enterprising foreigner drew other designs could these merchants be induced to produce anything but the fixed standard makes. Uniformity of design and process is also characteristic of many other crafts.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 197-198.

CHAPTER V

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

434 The income of the forty-eight families might be classified
465 under five different heads, viz: (1) wage-earnings of members of the families, (2) presents and gifts received from relatives or friends, including meals members took at their homes, (3) relief given by charitable agencies or persons, (4) rents from land or things and (5) other sources including interest from loans and sums of money derived from the sale of articles possessed by the family. Table 8 shows the sources and average amounts of family income in six months, ranging between $59.00 and $183.00. The average income per family was $103.26,[1] of which 90 per cent was derived from earnings, while the remaining 10 per cent, from the other four sources combined. It may be said that invariably by far the greater portion of the earnings was contributed by the husband or the head of the family, as it constituted more than 50
434 per cent of the average total earnings per family. Where the
462 husband's earnings fell short, as in the case of the last income
465 group in Table 8, it was invariably made up by the children, the younger members of the family. However, an exception to this generalization was found in the first income group, in which a widow earned no less than forty-nine dollars in six months to support her family. This must be considered as a peculiar case,

[1] It should be pointed out at this place that from the rickshamen's earnings a certain amount of money must be expended every day for the hire of the ricksha. This item we have purposely excluded from our consideration. For it was found that if this item be included in both the income and the expenditure of his family, its economic status would be so raised as to misrepresent its actual living standard. The ricksha is an instrument whereby the ricksaman expends his energy to gain a livelihood. In its nature, it differs in no way from the tools or machines provided by the modern factory. It is therefore thought that that part of the rickshaman's earnings which he spends to pay for the hire of his vehicle does not constitute his income.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

462 434 465 since the earning capacity of a woman is as a rule much lower than that of a man.

As is to be expected, the greater the number of wage-earners there is in a family, the greater the amount of earnings it would receive. In other words, among the labourers—in particular among the less skilled—any increase of the family income is usually due to the contributions of children of wage-earning age rather than to the increased earnings of husbands. The husband, as a rule, is the chief bread-earner of the family, but if he becomes advanced in age and his children have already grown up, then the major portion of the family income is generally earned by the children. What Mr. Rowntree has said of the British labourer that he passes in his life through five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty may be said to hold true also of the Chinese labourer.[1] That is to say, a labourer usually faces dire poverty during early childhood, in early middle life and in old age, while he enjoys short terms of prosperity in early adult life when he himself or his brothers and sisters begin to earn money, and then after marriage when his children begin to earn wages, the standard of living of the family on both occasions being somewhat raised.

434 465 462 Generally speaking, earnings from wives form but an inconsiderable part of the family income, although wives of forty-one families in the inquiry were engaged in some kind of work. The reason for this may be sought partly in the low pay of their work and partly in the fact that apart from their manual toil, they had also their own domestic duties to attend to. In fact, except in large cities, the woman's place in industry has not yet been established in China, and in a city like Peking, to be employed as a domestic servant is perhaps the only occupation that could bring reasonable pay to women. Of course, there are also exceptional cases in which a widow having children or a wife with an invalid husband to support has to engage herself in some handicraft work, in order to earn sufficient income for their living.

[1] Rowntree, Op. cit. pp. 136-7.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

the higher is its percentage of income on the total average receipts. As the family climbs up to a higher income group, the proportion of its income among the total receipts appears to be ever increasing while loans and other receipts of similar nature decreases in importance. Secondly, it is shown that the higher is the family in the income group, the lower is its percentage of expenditure on the total average disbursements. Thus, in families of higher income groups, it happened that either the proportion of disbursements other than expenditure become greater or a greater amount of cash is kept in their hands, or both.

FAMILY SUPPORTERS AND DEPENDENTS

Membership of the forty-eight working families having been considered in Chapter IV, it will be of interest now to study the members from the standpoint of their earning capacity. From our study of expenditure, it was found that the average expenditure per equivalent adult in six months was equal to $30.04, that is, about five dollars per month. To be exact, it was distributed in the following manner :—

Food	House rent	Clothing	Fuel, light and water	Miscellaneons	Total
$21.39	$2.26	$2.05	$3.40	$0.94	$30.04

This figure ($30.04 in six months) may be considered as the average expense an equivalent adult has to spend for his bare subsistence. This average living expense appears to be very low and it may be quite reasonably regarded as the minimum for the subsistence of the individual. To go below this would certainly mean privation and suffering, even though many persons might be, and in fact are, able to maintain their living at much less expense. Using this individual minimum as a criterion, it has been possible for us to distinguish two classes of persons : family supporters whose earnings in six months were above thirty dollars and partial dependents whose earnings in six months were below this figure. Those who had no earnings whatsoever were complete dependents. It must be observed that the criterion here adopted is theoretical, for in actual life latitude must be granted to different

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

individuals in spending. With this in view, we have therefore to classify as self-supporters those earning between $30,00 and $40.00; for the younger persons, their earnings for self-support were reduced according to the scale of the equivalent adult. The distribution of the four classes of persons is shown in the table below.

	Total		Average per family	
	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults	Number of persons	Number of equi. adults
Family supporters	55	54.2	1.15	1.13
Self-supporters	9	7.8	.19	.16
Partial dependents.....	87	66.4	1.81	1.38
Complete dependents...	69	33.7	1.44	.70
Total.....	220	162.1	4.58	3.38

Leaving aside self-supporters, it will be seen that on the average each family supporter had to maintain almost three dependents. In terms of equivalent adult, the proportion between the two is one to 1.8. On the average, each family may be said to comprise one family supporter, that is, the husband, and three dependents, that is, the wife and their two children. In seven of our working families, it was found that two persons were earning in each what may be called the family supporting wage; they were usually either the somewhat aged father and the adult son, or two sons in adult age who were fresh in life's struggles and had just assumed the burden of maintaining a family. One interesting case was illustrated by the family in which none of the members was earning a family-supporting wage, the father being over fifty years of age, and it was mainly supported by its income of fifty dollars from the rental on land.

On the average, the family supporter earned about $11.00 per month, while the partial dependent nearly $1.20 per month. It appeared that the earnings of the former were just sufficient to support, besides himself, 1.19 equivalent adults, that is to say, the wife and a child under five, while that of the latter could hardly

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

maintain 0.23 of an equivalent adult, that is, an infant under two.

The earning power of the workers under investigation was indeed appallingly low. Whether this was due to their low intelligence or lack of education, to an over-supply of labour, to the disorganization of trade, or to the low standard of living in Peking in general, it is impossible to say off-hand. It seems that all of these have combined to make the living of the working families as low as they are here presented. But the most important aspect of the problem that is relevant to our discussion is what the families with more members than they are able to support should do to overcome the lowness of their earnings. It is evident that two ways are open to them. Either they must reduce still further their standard of living, by using, for instance, cheaper kinds of food or by cutting down certain items of expenditure—the effect of either would naturally be ruinous to the health of the families—or they have to rely upon aid from outside, in order to maintain their existing living conditions.

THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

So far, our analysis of the income and expenditure of the families has been made only according to the level of their incomes. It has doubtless yielded very important results, some of which have already been dealt with in this chapter. But in view of the fact that the families under investigation were not of a uniform size, it seems that the population factor should not be disregarded altogether. For, generally speaking, the conditions of living must vary with the size of the family. And it will be our task at present to study the correlation between the size of the family and its cost of living.

When reduced to the number of equivalent adults, the families under investigation may be divided into four groups. While half of the families had from 2.5 to 3.5 equivalent adults per family, almost four-fifths of them had less than four equi-

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 13.—Average Income and Expenditure in Six Months per Family and per Equivalent Adult, by Equivalent Adults in Family

Equivalent adults in family	Number of families	Average number of equivalent adults per family	Average income		Average expenditure		Average general food expenses		Percentage of food expenses on total expenditure	Average food expenses at home		Calories per equivalent adult taking meals at home per day
			Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult	Per family	Per equivalent adult		Per family	Per equivalent adult	
1.50-2.49	5	2.16	$74.79	$34.63	$73.37	$33.97	$47.50	$21.99	64.7	$38.32	$20.04	2787
2.50-3.49	24	2.93	97.00	31.75	91.44	31.23	64.26	21.95	70.3	46.28	19.13	2732
3.50-4.49	14	4.00	122.29	30.60	119.43	29.89	87.91	22.00	73.6	52.23	17.34	2529
4.50 and over	5	5.02	127.90	25.49	127.29	25.37	93.48	18.63	73.4	67.77	15.42	2272
All groups	48	3.38	103.26	30.58	101.45	30.04	72.25	21.39	71.2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
										49.43	18.00	2595

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valent adults each. It will be seen from Table 13 that, on the average, the total income, the total expenditure, the total food expenses and also the food expenses at home per family all followed the rise of the number of equivalent adults in it. This is what is to be expected, for, any rise in the economic status of the family, whether in regard to its income or to its expenditure, is generally due to an increase of its members who are able to contribute to the income of the family. It may, therefore, be concluded that to the class of families which we have investigated, an enlargement of membership in the family must bring with it at once an increase of income as well as of expenditure. Apparently, such an increase seems to be a boon to the family, but, if we are to calculate the income and expenditure according to each equivalent adult, it will be just the reverse. Although an increase of family members frequently results in an increase of the family income, yet the two do not usually keep an equal pace and the additional income is constantly exceeded by the expenses required for supporting the additional member or members. It will be observed in Table 13 that the more equivalent adults there were in the family, the less was the amount of both the income and expenditure to each of them. Similarly, both the total food expenses and the food expenses at home per equivalent adult also varied in inverse proportion with the number of equivalent adults in the family—except in the third group in which there appears to be a very slight increase in the average total food expenses per equivalent adult. Thus, with the growth of the size of the family, the cost of living per equivalent adult tends to decline, while that per family seemingly rises. This decreasing tendency is not only evidenced in the average total expenditure and average food expenses per equivalent adult, as has already been referred to, but is also clearly shown in the calories and also in the rental per equivalent adult.[1]

Furthermore, it will be seen that the percentage of food expenses also follows the tendency of the increase of the number

S. Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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of equivalent adults in the family. This is quite natural, as more members there are in the family, more expenses must be used for food. In this connection, it is important to refer to the food percentages of the various income groups in Table 9 of this chapter. There, it was found that the food percentages showed no tendency to decrease in the higher income groups—a fact which seems to contradict Engel's preposition, that the greater the income, the smaller the percentage of outlay for subsistence. But if we view the fact in the light of the present discussion, the irregularity may be attributed to the different sizes of the families. Obviously, it is the population factor that has upset what should be a normal tendency in food expenditure.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the size of the family has an important bearing on the welfare of its individual members. It suggests to us that an increase of the members in the family will call for a much greater increase in its income, in order to maintain its standard of living, than its additional members could possibly contribute. That is to say, the growth of the size of the family will always bring its living standard down. Confining at least to the class of families under investigation, one may maintain with certainty that population is a much more potent force as a pressure upon the individual, and of course also the family, welfare, than as a blessing, as is generally conceived, that brings in more earnings to the family group. While it is as yet impossible to determine to what extent this population pressure is due to the low earning capacity of the Chinese labourer or to the social and industrial conditions that affect employment and rate of wages, there seems to be no doubt that population itself is a powerful factor which will up to a certain extent bring to it its own destruction. It is not our business here to study in the light of our discussion further into the problem of population in its local or national aspects, but the few data yielded by our inquiry undoubtedly lead us to believe that in order to promote the general welfare of the working family, a limitation of its size would be one of the most effective measures urgently needed in this country.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RICKSHAMAN

As has been shown in Chapter IV, forty-one persons amounting to more than one half of the employed males were engaged in pulling rickshas. The presence of such a high proportion of rickshamen in the population seems to lend to the study a complexion that it is primarily a budgetary study of their class. However, this is not entirely and strictly the case, as a sufficient number of workers in other trades are included in our inquiry. In this chapter only the data relating to the rickshamen's families will be dealt with, so as to study more closely the peculiar features of their living.

Only thirty-six persons will be taken in this study and the remaining five being occupied at times with jobs other than ricksha-pulling, such as cooks or music band players, have to be discarded, lest they should disturb the homogeneity of our selected samples. Furthermore, for the convenience of comparison, individual rickshamen, and not their families, are taken into consideration.

In computing the family income and expenditure of the rickshaman, it should be remembered, the rent for ricksha hire was not included for reasons which had already been explained. For our present purpose, however, which is to demonstrate his total earnings, the amount which he paid every day for ricksha rent should, of course, be included in his income as well as his expenditure.

It should be noted that to investigate the total earnings of the rickshaman to the highest degree of accuracy is by no means an easy matter. All one could gather with an assurance to exactness is generally the sum he gave to his family from which

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

494 465 have been deducted his ricksha rent and his expenses for food, tea, in some cases cigarettes, etc. Through the constant and labourious inquiries of our investigators, the amount the rickshaman spent on the streets for food and other things was ascertained and to the amount that went to support his family, it should be added, in order to arrive at his total earnings. Yet, it is still felt that he might possibly have made other purchases which he failed to account for, for odd coppers might easily have slipped from his hands into the buying of things that took his fancy now and then while plying his trade on the street. But from our experience, the expenses thus left unreported are insignificant. It is, therefore, quite possible that the income figures as given here are but very slightly lower than what they might have actually received, but the margin of error may be considered negligible.

The rickshamen covered by our inquiry all had families. Undoubtedly there are considerable numbers of others who are so circumstanced as to have neither family nor other dependents to support. These rickshamen are care-free and they can afford to spend what they earn. Naturally their living conditions are better off than the few samples here presented.

With these preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed with our study. In the first place, the age, working days and daily

Table 20.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average deviation from the median age (Median: 36.5)	Average working days in 6 months	Average earnings per working day	
				Gross	Net
$45- 69.9 ...	2	11.0	148	$0.39	$0.26
70- 94.9 ...	20	8.7	175	.51	.37
95-119.9 ...	12	6.5	178	.60	.45
120-144.9 ...	2	1.5	175	.71	.56
All incomes	36	7.7	174	.54	.40

In this table, all the deviations from the median age, whether positive or negative, are considered as positive, the reason being that both the old and the immature showed some deficiency in earning capacity.

5. Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

earnings of the various rickshamen will be taken up for examination. 494 465

From Table 20 one observes that out of 181 days, thirty-six rickshamen had to work on the average 174 days. In some cases, in fact, they worked during the whole period without even a day of rest. Now, considering the strenuous nature of the work which requires continuous muscular exertion and constant, alert attention to the pedestrians and vehicles on the streets and further the unsanitary conditions under which the work is carried out, such as inhaling the dust while running, wearing garments soaked with perspiration and exposing oneself to extreme cold, heat and rain, ricksha pulling is a horrible calling. Yet when it was found that the men engaged in such undesirable jobs had to work practically all the year round without any rest, one should not hesitate to call it even worse than slavery. That the rickshaman has to remain in the street waiting for hire day after day with little or no interruption throughout the year is due, of course, to his low earnings which, being in most cases insufficient even for the bare subsistence of his own family, allow no margin whatsoever for him to spend wilfully.

The average daily earnings per rickshaman amounted to $0.54, or $0.40 excluding the rent of the ricksha. In comparing the ages with the earnings, it is interesting to note that the closer is the age to the median which is 36.5, the greater is the earning capacity. Thus, 36-37 represents the age at which the earning capacity is the greatest. This may be due partly to the fact that at this age their physical vigour is the greatest and partly to their sense of responsibility thrust upon them for maintaining the livelihood of their families. As a further illustration, the persons may be again grouped according to age and let us see if there exists any correlation between age and income. In the following table, it will be seen that almost half of the rickshamen were in the third age group, from 30 to 40 years of age. It is the persons of this group that had the highest daily earnings, both gross and net; all the other groups fell low, in particular the last group, which consisted of men of declining age.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Table 21.—Average Working Days and Daily Earnings, by Age Groups

Age group	No. of rickshamen	Average working days in 6 months (181 days)	Average earnings per person in 6 months		Average earnings per working day	
			Gross	Net	Gross	Net
15-19 ...	4	177	$94.6	$66.4	$0.53	$0.38
20-29 ...	8	175	90.1	66.4	.52	.38
30-39 ...	17	176	101.0	75.3	.57	.43
40-49 ...	4	168	85.0	64.0	.51	.38
50-59 ...	3	163	81.6	58.1	.50	.36
All ages...	36	174	94.5	69.7	.54	.40

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So much for the earnings of the rickshaman. His expenditure may here be divided into three parts:

1. The daily ricksha rent.

Table 22.—Average Expenditure per Rickshaman in Six Months, by Income Groups

Income group	No. of rickshamen	Average rent for ricksha	Average expenses per ricksaman	Average expenses for supporting family	Total average expenses
$45- 69.9...	2	$19.18	$25.68	$12.47	$57.32
70- 94.9...	20	24.38	32.25	31.63	88.26
95-119.9...	12	26.04	34.90	45.02	105.95
120-144.9...	2	27.05	36.39	60.98	124.42
All incomes...	36	24.79	33.00	36.66	94.45
	PER CENT				
$45- 69.9...	.....	33	45	22	100
70- 94.9...	.....	28	37	36	100
95-119.9...	.....	25	33	42	100
120-144.9...	.....	22	29	49	100
All incomes...	.....	26	35	39	100

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

2. Sex and age. There were altogether 32 male and 29 female members in the twelve families. Their age distribution is presented in Table 26. 875 596

All the husbands and wives, as Table 26 shows, were above 20 and under 50 years of age. All their children were under 15 years. Of all the persons, 37 were in the manhood period, 18 were minors and 6 were of old age.

3. Working Conditions of the Teacher. The teacher of the Peking elementary school is as a rule employed for one year. A flat rate of forty dollars per mensem is paid to him but a slightly higher rate is applied to those who take up some part of the administrative work of the school. Reductions are made on the salaries of those who teach less than the stipulated hours, that is, twenty-four hours a week. Besides Sundays and other holidays, he is free from work for about seventy days during the summer and the new year. 875 465

It should be observed that the pay of the elementary school teacher in Peking has during recent years fallen greatly in arrears. On account of the financial difficulties of the government, certain expenditures have not only been reduced but at times cut off altogether. Many a time has it happened that approprations for elementary schools were withheld for as long a period as half a year. Under such circumstances, the plight of the teacher is far from enviable; either he has to spend his savings, if he has any, or else he would have to invoke aid from other sources. Even when the salary of the teacher is forthcoming, it is seldom received regularly month by month. All this complicates greatly our study of the income of the teachers.

In the present study, the salaries as were actually received by the teachers in the month of November, 1926, and duly recorded in their respective accounts were disregarded, as it happened that the sums they received in that month exceeded what they usually get under normal conditions. It is clear that only two ways of computing might be adopted by us. One is to take the nominal salary, that is that which the teacher ought to receive, but which he does not usually get; while the other is to

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

875 consider 50 per cent of his salary as his actual income, for dur-
465 ing the year 1926-27 the teachers received on the whole only about one half of his pay. The former is adopted in Table 27.

Three of the teachers were holding concurrent posts as tutors in private families, thus receiving extra pay for their work. It is known that on account of the irregularity of payment of salaries, many teachers have been compelled to take up extra work in order to secure some additional income for a living.

875 4. Employment of the Family Members. In five of the
462 families there were, besides the teachers, other members engaged
562 in some gainful employment.

It is interesting to note that, in contrast with the married woman of the working families, that of the middle class families in China has but rarely pursued any profession. Of course, she is occupied with general housekeeping, which is by no means an easy job itself, and also sewing, as the clothes of all the members are generally cut and tailored at home; and the performance of these domestic duties no doubt constitutes a part of the income of the family, the exact value of which in terms of money is often impossible to state. But what is remarkable is that she is but seldom engaged in any gainful employment outside her home, even though there may be a necessity for her to do so. This, it may be suggested, is mainly due to the following reasons. Firstly, a sense of importance or social superiority is often assumed by the married woman of the middle class, because belonging to a higher social class means that she has become a *tai-tai* (lady) and not an ordinary woman, and consequently it would be below her dignity to do such handicraft work as the women of the working families often occupy themselves with. It may perhaps be considered as one of the features which characterizes all civilized societies that the higher the social status of a family, the more leisurely life the woman of that family leads or ought to lead. If women as producers are mainly found in the so-called lower classes, women as consumers who wantonly dissipate wealth created in sweat and blood usually constitute what

is called "society." Secondly, there are in China as yet still few careers that are open to women. The few professions that women may pursue such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and literary work, are developed but very recently and have not yet provided sufficient attraction to them, even after their marriage. Furthermore, it must be admitted that the training offered by the small number of schools and colleges in this country is often found inadequate for the woman to lead a professional life.

While these considerations are, on the whole, true, one must, however, not conclude that all women of the comfortable families in China are of the leisure class. In particular, the wife of the teacher often has a very hard time at home. None of the families investigated kept any servant and housekeeping in China sadly needs many of the facilities that are found in the West. Considering the volume of work a housewife has to attend to, from cooking and cleaning to laundering and tailoring, her time must be fully occupied all day long. Add to this her manifold duties as a mother, we shall then be able to realize the busy life of the teacher's wife.

Parenthetically one may perhaps be allowed to make this generalization regarding the future of the middle-class woman. With the economic pressure steadily setting in, she will have to emerge from her home and earn a living outside, while the development of educational facilities and the utilization of modern time-saving contrivances in housekeeping will certainly enable her to become an efficient worker in various fields of activities.

FAMILY INCOMES

The incomes of the twelve families[1] may be summarized as in Table 27. The average family income of the elementary school teacher amounted to $56.39 per month.

It should be admitted that Table 27 does not represent the actual conditions of the teachers' incomes, for, as has been noted, many of the items were merely nominal. In order to get a better

[1] [i.e., the sample teachers' family records--Analyst]

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

875 idea of their living conditions, we shall now turn to a study of
434 their expenditures.
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Table 27.—Income of 12 Teachers' Families in One Month

Family	Teacher's salary (nominal)	Other salaries	Presents	Total income in one Month
No. 1	$40	—	—	$40.00
„ 2	40	—	$0.20	40.20
„ 3	40	—	3.15	43.15
„ 4	40	—	5.00	45.00
„ 5	38	$10 [1]	—	48.00
„ 6	40	10 [2]	—	50.00
„ 7	47	—	9.29	56.29
„ 8	40	15 [3]	1.83	56.83
„ 9	50	20 [3]	—	70.00
„ 10	40	30 [4]	2.57	72.57
„ 11	40	30 [5]	3.61	73.61
„ 12	40	40 [6]	1.00	81.00
Total	495	155	26.65	676.65
Average per family	41.25	12.93	2.22	56.39

[1] The pay of the father who was a clerk at the Police Department. It is a nominal sum, the pay being irregular.
[2] The pay of a brother for private tutoring.
[3] Salaries received by the teacher for private tutoring.
[4] This sum represents the pay of ten dollars the teacher received for private tutoring and the nominal pay of his brother as a clerk at a school.
[5] Income of the brother, a medical practitioner.
[6] Nominal salary of the sister, also an elementary school teacher.

EXPENDITURE

875 The family expenditure of the elementary school teachers
511 may be best studied according to the number of persons per family. The twelve families may be grouped into two classes: those having four members or less and those having more than four members. Seven of the families belonged to the former group, which consisted on the average of 3.4 persons or 2.74 equivalent adults and the remaining five belonged to the latter, which consisted on the average of 7.4 persons or 5.56 equivalent adults. It will be seen in Table 28 that of the average amount spent by each family during the month of November, 1926, for its living, food figured prominently, being $18.27, that is 38 per cent of the total. Next came the miscellaneous group, con-

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

worthy fact is that the percentages for the latter group of expenses should have been reduced. It may be maintained that, assuming the income to be constant, an increase of the size of the family often results in cutting down certain of its expenditures, and hence, on the whole, its general living expenses do not increase proportionately with the growth of its size. Thus, among the teachers, the average amount of living expenses per equivalent adult per day in the small-sized family was $13.49, but the same in the great-sized family was reduced to $11.28.

Regarding the question whether or not the pay of the elementary school teacher is sufficient to maintain the family, it is appropriate to study the balance sheet of their income and expenditure. Considering the teachers' salary alone, which is forty dollars per month, it is obvious that the family of four members or less would find it quite sufficient—that is, if it is paid in full—because it still left, after having met the various charges of expenditure, an average surplus amount of $3.03. But this question, it seems, should be further studied in connection with incomes other than that of the teacher, since most of the teachers' families had received incomes from two or three sources. And for our present purpose, we shall consider only two cases; in one case, the salary of the teacher is paid in full while in another, his salary is reduced 50 per cent, for this was what actually occurred to the elementary school teachers in the year 1926. The two cases are shown in the following table:

Families having members of—	Number of families	If salaries are fully paid				Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	If only 50 per cent of the salaries are paid				Total Average Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)
		Surplus		Deficit			Surplus		Deficit		
		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Average amount		Families having	Average amount	Families having	Families amount	
4 and under	7	5	$22.28	2	$6.42	+$14.08	3	$8.79	4	$20.58	—$7.99
Over 4 ...	5	3	8.85	2	11.67	+ .64	—	—	5	21.94	—21 94
All ...	12	8	17.25	4	9.05	+ 8.48	3	8.79	9	21.33	—13.80

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

It will be seen from the above table that if the salaries of the teachers were all fully paid, there would be eight families having an average surplus of $17.25 each and four families having an average deficit of $9.05 each. Naturally, a much greater amount of surplus was obtained in the families having four members or less than in those having more than four members. Likewise, a much greater amount of deficit was obtained in the latter than in the former. In case the salaries of the teachers were paid 50 per cent, it will be seen that none of the families having more than four members could maintain their living on the reduced amount. Even four out of the seven small-sized families found that amount insufficient, as an average deficit of $20.58 was obtained in each of them.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the irregularity of payment in the teaching profession in Peking must have had deleterious effects upon the life of its members. Even admitting that the standard of living of the elementary school teachers as is represented by our inquiry is a decent one, a reduction of their regular income to half would no doubt enhance the hardships of their life. Under such circumstances, the immediate outcome would be a demoralization of the teaching profession. But what is most admirable about our elementary school teachers is that, notwithstanding the irregularity, nay insecurity of their income, they have managed to remain faithfully at their work and only save under very special circumstances, conducted their classes as if nothing has happened to their household economy.

Food Consumption. It cannot be too often repeated that our budgetary study of the elementary school teachers was confined to only one winter month, and it is essential to bear this fact in mind particularly in a study of their food consumption, lest the data should be taken as representive of the whole year.

The food articles which have been consumed without exception by all the teachers' families under investigation were rice, wheat flour, Chinese cabbage, onions, sesamum oil, salt, soy paste, soy sauce, vinegar, pork and peanuts. Turnips, both fresh

443 period is only nine or ten months. we place the
464 difference in the tenth and eleventh periods to this same proclivity for talking in round numbers, and if we average these periods we feel that we shall arrive at a more accurate result. The average length of tenure for the 523 cases is 5.6 years according to the original data, and 5.5 years according to the corrected data, which we should consider a creditable record.

TABLE XXXIII WAGES OF STORE WORKERS.

MONTHLY WAGES IN MEX. DOLLARS	NO. OF PERSONE.
Under one	16
1 - 1.99	39
2 - 2.99	74
3.- 3.99	78
4 - 4.99	54
5 - 5.99	34
- 6 - 6.99	8
7 - 11	6
Total	309

$$\text{Mean} = 4.25 + \frac{-325}{309} = 4.25 - 1.52 = 2.73$$

11. Wages of Store Workers

443 Of the 538 workers only 309 or 57.4% receive any
●465 kind of monetary payment. The distribution and average payment is preseted in Table XXXIII.

STORES

Here it will be seen that the most general wage 443
is round about Mex. $3 per month, and the average is 465
calcaulated at Mex. $2. 73 per month.* This does not represent the whole wage of a worker as everyone is supplied with board and lodging worth Mex. $5-6 per month. This means than an average worker in Ching Ho receives the value of about Mex. $9 per month or 30 cent per day. The workers also share in the profits, but this is difficult to estimate as the profits vary considerably from year to year and store to store, and from a few dollars to as much as $1,000 for the employed managers.

TABLE XXXIV. NON-SALARIED WORKERS IN THE STORES.

CLASSES	NO. OF PERSONS.
Managers	89
Apprentices	86
Clerks	16
Assistant managers	15
Fathers of managers	3
Thsrd assistant	2
All others	3
Total	219

*On the inspection of the original entries we found that the mid-point did not give a fair representation of the class, and as there are far more figures about the round number the first quartile has been considered a better representative figure.

443 Besides the 309 workers who receive regular
465 payment there are 229 workers who only receive board and lodging and a share in the irregular profits, the largest class under this heading being the managers. They do not consider their labour income apart from their capital income, and their income is therefore, impossible to estimate.

The clerks are in most cases friends of the managers or stockholders, helping temporarily in the stores, and assistant managers are generally brothers or relatives of stockholders. They are trested as the proprietor treats himgelf, receiving board, lodging and a reasonable share of the profits.

we notice from the above table that there are 86 apprentices who do not receive any monaetry payment. The usual practice in stores is that for the first year there is no payment, in the second year a few

TABLE XXV. MONEY PAYMENT FOR APPRENTICES.

PAYMENT	NO. OF PERSONS.
No payment	86
Under M. $1.	9
$1 - $1.49	14
$1.50 - $1.99	7
$2.00 - $2.99	12
$3.00 - $3.99	4
Tatal	122

STORES

cents will be awarded them for miscellaneous buyings, 443
and in the third year the amount will be raised to $1465 ●
or more. After these three years of apprenticeship they are promoted to clerkship or some definite position with pay. If there is no suitable position for them they may be still treated as apprentices, but with higher pay. In very small stores, however, the apprentices receive no pay at all.

12. Store Equipment.

we have here taken into account two main types 443
of equipment: cultural facilities and communication 517
facilities. In regard to the first mentioned they are very poorly served. 89 of the stores do not take any kind of newspaper, and 112 have no books at all.

TABLE XXVI. CULTURAL FACILITIES IN THE STORES.

NO. OF EACH KIND.	NEWSPAPERS		BOOKS.	
	NO. OF STORES.	%	NO. OF STORES.	%
Not one	89	73.0	112	91.8
1	32	26.2	3	2.5
2	1	.8	1	.8
3	0		1	.8
4	0		0	
5	0		1	.8
Above 5	0		4	3.3
Total	122	100.0	172	100.0

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. Seventy-seven families had two wage earners; 19 had three; and ten had four or more persons contributing to the family budget. These ten families all had incomes between $15 and $40 a month. The only family with six wage earners belonged to the $30 group. The father was a vegetable peddler, the two sons ricksha men. The mother and two daughters-in-law wove cloth. Over 10 per cent of the income of this family came from the secret sale of cabbage, which had been taken as "squeeze" from others. The sale was reported to our investigators but not to the owners of the cabbage.

The men were engaged in 55 different occupations, the women in 13. The largest groups for the men were clerks and accountants, 47; ricksha men, 46; peddlers, 25; employees of the electric company, 24; teachers, 21; storekeepers, 17; servants, 13; house owners, 12. One of the storekeepers was selling opium. One-half the peddlers were selling fruit and vegetables. Fifty-eight women were earning small amounts by sewing and washing; nine were making toothbrushes for which they were paid 1 copper apiece; six were nurses; five were teachers. The complete list of occupations represented in this study is given in Table 4. This list, of course, is not exhaustive so far as Peiping as a whole is concerned, nor are the proportions engaged in the different kinds of work necessarily typical.

It will be noted from Table 5,[1] which gives the amounts paid the workers employed by the month, that the wages of most of the unskilled and of some of the semi-skilled men began at $12 a month; also that some men sufficiently educated to teach, or to do clerical work, were paid $14 a

[1] [See p. 317. — ANALYST]

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

month. The highest monthly salary reported was $280 paid to a college professor. 465

The wages of those employed by the day were: push-cart men, 60 cents; paper-hangers, 60, 70, and 80 cents. The wagon drivers were paid 160 coppers, 42 cents, a day up to June; and then 200 coppers, 51 cents. With tips, their average earnings for the year were approximately 50 cents a day.

During the first half of the year the rates set by the carpenters' and masons' gilds were: skilled men, 70 cents a day; unskilled, 45 cents. In May, these rates were increased to 90 cents and 60 cents.[6] Both the skilled and unskilled rates include a "commission" that is supposed to cover the cost of providing tools, et cetera. It was 10 cents before May, and 15 cents thereafter. Ordinarily this commission is kept by the contractor in charge of a job, but our accounts show that it was paid to the men part of the time. We were not able to discover the factor which determined whether the man or the contractor was to receive the commission. In some cases, the man probably was hired direct by the house owner. In others, it may have been a special arrangement with the contractor.

Some of the carpenters and masons were paid less than the gild rate. They received 220 coppers a day, 58 cents, before May, and 260 coppers, 68 cents, thereafter. The full gild rate without the commission was first 60 and then 75 cents a day. Possibly these men were not full members of the gild. Workers who have "stolen their trade," *i.e.*, not served an apprenticeship of three years, often are paid more than the gild rate for unskilled men, but less than the regular rate for skilled men. One mason

[6] No. 18.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

465 was paid 180 coppers, 49 cents, a day in December; then $16 a month for two months; then 220 coppers, 57 cents, a day for one month. In April his wage was $12 for the month; but beginning in May it was 260 coppers, 68 cents, a day for the rest of the year.

465 Porters, push-cart men, and ricksha men usually are
494 paid by the job. Their daily earnings therefore fluctuate widely, depending upon the weather, the amount of work available, the men's success in securing employment. The average income of the porters included in our group varied from 54 cents to $1.90 a day, for the days they worked. The average time lost during the year—that is, the number of days with no reported income—was 70, or six days a month. Three men lost more than 90 days, or three full months. The push-cart men earned an average of 63 cents a day. They lost an average of one day a month. One man paid 30 coppers, 7.5 cents a day, as rent for his cart; another from 30 to 40 coppers, or an average of 9.4 cents a day.

465 The average income of 32 ricksha men was 56 cents a
434 day. Their individual earnings, for the days they worked,
494 ranged from an average of 37 cents to one of $1.12 a day. This is net income, as the rent paid for their rickshas, or the amount paid for taxes, tires, and supplies if they owned their own vehicles, are business expenses and therefore deducted from the man's gross earnings. One thousand ricksha men, studied in 1924, reported their average net earnings as 38 cents a day.

The ricksha rents ranged from $2 to $6 a month. The average was $3.10 a month, or approximately 10 cents a day. The amount of the rent is usually determined by the quality of the vehicle and whether it is rented for a

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

full or a half day. We have been interested to find that most of the men do not pay the same rent throughout the year. Several paid as many as five different rates, and two paid six. One of the latter paid four different rates during one month. They ranged from 20 to 40 coppers. For most of the men, the January rent was different from that for December and February. It was increased for one-half and decreased for the other half. It would be interesting to know if some of the men were preparing for the heavier traffic before Chinese New Year, and attempted to get more business by having better-looking rickshas. When the rent was reduced, some of the men may have kept their regular vehicles, but paid less rent because January is the coldest month of the year, and, except for the days just before New Year's, business is hard to find. Others may have thought they could get their usual amount of business even if they used poorer vehicles, and consequently attempted to save money by paying less rent.

Eleven men, 29 per cent, owned their rickshas. Among the 1,000 ricksha men studied in 1924, we found only 3 per cent owning their vehicles. The ricksha men lost an average of 28 days during the year, or a little more than two days a month. Three men reported some income every day of the year, and more than one-half of the group lost less than one day a month. On the other hand, four men, because of sickness, lost between 90 and 120 days. One-quarter of the group lost more than 60 days each. Many, if not most, of the men find it difficult to pull regularly without some rest days.

The carpenters worked an average of 24 days a month, and the masons 20 days. Because of the seasonal nature

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

423 There were 19 families who paid no rent during the
465 entire year, but did not own the houses in which they lived. Two lived in houses given them free by their relatives. Seventeen were given their houses by their employers as part of their salaries or wages. They were watchmen, gate-keepers, workers in stores or factories, school-teachers, preachers and others engaged in religious work.

Twenty families paid no rent during part of the year; to seven of these, houses were given for part of the time by their employers; to seven others, houses were loaned by relatives or friends, for one or more months; six families lived part of the year in houses that they owned, and part of the year in rented property.

423 Fourteen families reported that they rented larger
427 houses than they needed for their own use, and then endeavored to sublet the extra rooms. If all the extra rooms could be rented, there was apparently a profit of 75 cents to $1 per room per month. Three families made enough in this way to give them their own rooms rent-free; three others, enough to pay part of the rent for the rooms they used. The other eight families were unable to get enough to pay the rent of the extra rooms. One family, who had been using three rooms and paying $5.50 a month rent, in May took over the other five rooms in the house and paid a total rent of $17 a month. Their venture was a complete loss, as they were unable to sublet any of the rooms. Finally in October they moved to a six-room house, for which they paid $12 a month. Another family paid $30 a month for a twelve-room house. They planned to use eight rooms and sublet four. The four rooms were rented for three months, but from April

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

spent some money for these items. The 54 families with no expenditure under this heading all had incomes of less than $30 a month. The average expenditure per family reporting was only 4 cents a year for the $5 group; and 45 cents for the $10 group. It was $4.80 for the $25 group; and more than $10 a year for all the groups with incomes of more than $60 a month. The amount increased rapidly in the higher groups. The average was $57 for the $175 group; $85 for the $200 group; and $170 for the $300 group.

For all of the income groups below $25 a month, the expenditure for communications was less than 1 per cent of the family budget. It was between 1 and 2 per cent for the groups between $25 and $90. The maximum was 5 per cent in the $100 group. For an American working-class family, it is estimated that carfare alone takes from 2.3 to 3 per cent of the budget.[3]

Rickshas have been the most generally used form of transportation in Peiping. According to the police report, 18,937 public rickshas, and 6,940 private rickshas, or a total of 25,877, were licensed in June, 1925. In February, 1928, there were 24,232 in the city and 6,618 in the adjoining suburbs. As a ricksha man pulls only one passenger at a time, this form of travel is relatively expensive, even though competition has reduced the fares to the point where it is difficult for a man to earn enough to pay the rent on his vehicle and provide for his own support. In 1924, the average daily earnings of 1,000 ricksha men was approximately 38 cents a day. Fares ordinarily depend upon the distance traveled and generally there is a customary rate between two points. The actual fare,

[3] Nos. 2 and 42.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

494 however, is settled by bargaining. The amount agreed
465 upon naturally varies with the time of day, the weather, and the number of rickshas about. When engaged on a time basis, the fare ranged as high as 20 cents an hour, or $1 a day. For full-time work, a private ricksha man usually was paid $12 a month, and was expected to buy his own food. If he furnished the ricksha, his wage ordinarily was $18 a month, the rent of a better-class ricksha being 20 cents a day. The rent paid for their vehicles by the ricksha men among our families varied from $2.20 to $6 per month. The average was $3.10 a month, or a little over 10 cents a day. Three families employed full-
651 time ricksha men. A monthly tax of 40 coppers, or a little more than 10 cents, was levied on each ricksha licensed by the police. This tax was paid by the owner. In August the police, aiming to improve the dress of the ricksha men, required them to purchase uniform jackets, costing 60 cents apiece.

494 Street-cars are operated on most of the main streets of the city. Being faster and cheaper than rickshas, they are well patronized, especially by those traveling a considerable distance. The cars are usually so crowded, however, that many people prefer to use rickshas. In 1927, the crowding was greatly intensified by the fact that the soldiers of Chang Tso-lin's army rode free.

493 Six families reported the purchase of bicycles for
656 amounts ranging from $14 to $90. Four other families spent small amounts for repairs and taxes. All bicycles were required to carry license numbers and were supposed
651 to pay a monthly tax. The latter was regularly collected for a time, but then was apparently allowed to lapse. The amounts paid as taxes were 15 and 20 cents a month.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

462

Occupations—Men—(Continued)

Camel Driver	1	Push-cart Man	3
Catafalque Bearer	1	Ricksha Man	46
Coolie	3	Servant	13
Gatekeeper	3	Street Sprinkler	1
Laundry Man	1	Wagon Driver	7
Porter	7		

Occupations—Women

Actress	1	Servant	6
Doctor	1	Sewing and Washing	58
House Owner	2	Teacher	5
Match Company	1	Thread Maker	1
Nurse	6	Toothbrush Maker	9
Paper Flower Maker	2	Weaving	4
Peddler	1	N. D.	1

TABLE 5

Monthly Wage Rates for Different Occupations

465

Occupation	Wages
Coalball Maker	room and $ 8
Servant	12
Shoemaker	12
Gatekeeper	12 and 15
Policeman	13 to 16
Carpenter	14
Mason	12 and 16
Camel Driver	15
Ricksha Man (with ricksha)	18
" " (without ricksha)	12
Wagon Driver	20
Chauffeur	20
Private Telephone Operator	20
Glasses Grinder	30
Clerk	14 to 90
Post-office Sorters and Clerks	20 to 35
Employee of Electric Company	17 to 100
Boiler Room	20 to 60
Engine Room	45 to 100
Pastor of a Church	usually house and 35 to 65
Teacher	14 to 80
School Proctor	90
Librarian	100
Middle School Principal	house and 150
Middle School Dean	house and 185
College Professor	280
Doctor	house and 125
Station Master	150
Railroad Telegraph Operator	195
Woman In-servant	food, etc., and 2.50 to 3.50
Woman Out-servant	12 and 16
Hospital Nurse	15

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

end of the year is reduced in proportion to the days of absence. 466
Those who do not return in two months after their time limit expires are considered as honorably dismissed, but old-timers may be re-admitted, if sufficient reasons are given. Persons asking leave of absence for ordinary business may renew it for marriage or funeral service, and the renewal allowing the worker to draw his pay in the meantime up to one month is counted from the day when the letter to such effect is received. Apprentices are not allowed any leave of absence for ordinary business. New workers who have been in the factory for less than three months are not paid any wages during absence, no matter what the reason may be. Persons engaged in principal work, once absent for whatever reason, are irrevocably demoted to the class of piece job workers on their return. They are allowed to do their former work only when there are vacancies to be filled up. According to our conversation with the supervisers and workers, absence due to ordinary business is the most frequent, while sick leave comes next to it. The former generally happens around Arbour day and Old Chinese New Year, when workers visit their homes, while the latter occurs mostly in summer and winter, when work seems particularly hard. The number of times, the 289 workers in the west section have asked leave of absence in the course of the year 1926 is classified in Table 5.

Wage payments.—Wages are paid either according to the 465
number of days or according to efficiency. The earnings of the worker may be said to consist of six items: (1) wages (2) extra month's pay (3) general bonus (4) salt bonus (5) allowance for working over-time and (6) commutation of seasonal gifts.

Wages are paid monthly to workers irrespective of the number of days in each month. Wages of common labourers vary from $8.25 to $16.75, while those of skilled labourers, from $8.75 to 31.75. Apprentices are paid from $4.75 to $8.75 (see Table 6).

The minimum wage in the Chiu Ta Factory was formerly fixed at the rate of $2 a month, but meals were provided for by the factory gratis. Owing to the gradual increase in the number

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 **Table 5.—Distribution of Leaves of Absence of Workers in the West Section of the Factory in 1926 according to Their Nature**

Month	Ordinary business	Sickness	Marriage	Funeral service	Accident	Total
January	10	6	1	1	—	18
February	31	1	2	—	2	36
March	28	5	2	1	—	36
April	38	15	1	—	—	54
May	25	7	1	1	1	35
June	22	9	—	—	—	31
July	12	12	—	—	—	24
August	11	21	—	—	—	32
September	18	15	1	3	—	37
October	18	3	—	1	—	22
November	18	5	1	—	1	25
December	12	12	1	2	2	29
Total	243	111	10	9	6	379

465 of workers, however, it was soon found inconvenient to provide meals for all and their wages were, therefore, raised to $6 per month each without meals. The rise of prices during the last four or five years has again made it necessary to raise the wages still higher by fixing $7.50 as the lowest monthly rate. It had been the practice of the factory to present every year two suits of clothing and some edibles to its workmen at festival times. Later it was considered rather troublesome to purchase the presents for the increasing number of workers and they were commuted since March 1927 into an amount of $0.75 a month or $9 a year to be paid to every worker. This brings the minimum rate a worker could receive to $8.25 a month. The apprentice, who is also benefited by the gifts, has therefore his wage raised from $4 to $4.75 a month.

Wages are increased in July but more frequently in February every year. The scale of increase was originally $.0.25, $0.50, $0.75 or $1.00 for the common labourer and $0.50, $1.00. $1.50 or $2.00 for the skilled. With the increase in the cost of living,

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

Table 6.—Number of Workers in Six Sections According to the Wage Scale of the Factory

465

Monthly Wages*	West Section	East Section	Iron Work shop	Power House	Dormitory	Salt Field Administration	Total number of workers
$ 4.75	1	—	2	—	—	—	3
5.75	1	2	8	1	—	—	12
6.00	1	—	—	1	—	—	2
7.00	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
7.75	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
8.25	73	49	—	—	2	—	124
8.50	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
8.75	17	49	2	1	1	1	71
9.00	24	8	1	—	1	—	34
9.25	11	10	—	—	1	—	22
9.50	10	15	—	—	2	—	27
9.75	8	4	3	—	2	—	17
10.00	11	14	—	—	1	—	26
10.25	23	9	2	1	—	—	35
10.50	8	7	—	—	1	—	16
10.75	6	6	5	1	3	—	21
11.00	8	5	1	1	1	—	16
11.25	7	2	—	—	2	—	11
11.50	7	1	2	—	1	2	13
11.75	7	2	1	1	—	—	11
12.00	2	6	1	—	2	—	11
12.25	8	2	—	—	1	—	11
12.50	3	2	—	—	—	1	6
12.75	3	4	2	—	—	—	9
13.00	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
13.25	2	1	1	—	—	—	4
13.50	1	—	—	1	—	1	3
13.75	1	2	—	—	—	—	3
14.00	2	1	—	1	1	—	5
14.25	2	—	1	—	—	—	3
14.50	3	1	1	—	—	—	5
14.75	1	—	1	—	—	—	2
15.00	1	1	—	—	—	—	2
15.50	1	1	—	1	—	—	3
15.75	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
16.75	4	—	1	—	—	—	5
18.00	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
18.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
18.50	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
18.75	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
19.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
20.00	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
20.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
22.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
22.50	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
23.00	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
23.25	—	—	1	1	—	—	2
24.25	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
31.75	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Total ...	262	207	45	15	22*	5	556
Average...	$ 9.97	$ 9.57	$ 12.47	$ 13.28	$ 10.55	$ 11.55	$ 10.15
Median ...	$ 9.50	$ 9.00	$ 10.75	$ 11.50	$ 10.50	$ 11.50	$ 9.50

* Including the commutation of gifts

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

465 the minimum increase in wage for the common worker is $0.50 and for the skilled, $1.00. Those who have been in the factory for less than one year are not entitled to a raise in wages. The apprentices' wages are increased only after they have passed an examination successfully. On the expiration of their apprenticeship, their wages are increased $4 or $5 according to their merits.

Every worker is entitled to an extra month's pay at the end of the year except those who have been absent over a month, in that period of time. Those who have worked in the factory for less than one year are entitled to a fraction thereof. Both the wages and the extra month's pay vary according to the length of service and are subject to a raise each year.

General bonus is paid to every workman according to efficiency at the end of the year. The amount varies from $0.30 to $28. It is based entirely upon the efficiency record kept by the supervisers irrespective of other considerations. A new comer generally receives an amount of $10 a year for his general bonus, sometimes, it may be more but it never goes beyond $20. For those who have been in the factory for more than 2 years the general bonus is frequently more but it never exceed the sum of $28. The general bonus differs from the dividend, in the fact that, while the latter is contingent upon the profits of business, the former is a reward to the workers without any regard to the profits of the company.

Salt bonus commonly known as "bag money" is given to the principal workers and the firemen of the steam engine with a view to encouraging the output of the refined salt. After sufficient test with different kinds of vats, the factory has fixed a minimum amount of salt production for every vat. For one bag in excess of the minimum amount, 10 cents is awarded to the salt boiler, the salt baker, the firemen and the coal carrier. Thus, each worker usually receives the salt bonus from $4 to $7. To the salt dissolver, tank washer and firemen of the steam engine, however, only 5 cents is awarded as salt bonus for every ten bags of salt produced in excess of the minimum amount.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

As a rule, each worker receives from one to two dollars a month over and above his regular wage. The total amount of salt bonus, accumulated in one month is distributed at the beginning of the next month to the workers according to the number of days each had worked. Labourers, as a rule, are willing to work on salt refining, as they desire to receive the salt bonus which amounts sometimes to as much as their wages.

Allowance for working over-time seems to be quite liberal. It is two days' pay for eight hours' over-time work, one day's pay for 4-6 hours' over-time work, and half day's pay for less than 4 hours' over-time work. The allowance is to be given the next day. Chances for working over-time are not many except under the following conditions; (1) during new year holidays (2) to make up the work of those who are absent unexpectedly and (3) extra work in the iron workshop. The benefit of getting over-time pay is thus only limited to a small group, and excepting the foundry work, the maximum number of days that a common labourer can work over-time in a year is only 8½. Consequently, the income derived from over-time pay is rather insignificant.

It may be interesting to have an idea as to how much a new worker can get. On entering the factory as a common labourer, he is entitled to $7.50 a month, or $90 a year. Added to this $9 of commutation money for the new year and seasonal gifts, one extra month's pay of $7.50 and $14 of general bonus, he makes $10.04 a month or $120.50 a year. If he happens to work in refining salt for 3 months, he would then get $5 each month as salt bonus. Thus, his earnings would amount to $11.29 a month or $135.50 a year.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

465 431 Commutation of Gifts.—In China, festivals are important occasions, when edibles and other gifts are presented and exchanged. In the few years of its existence, the factory has made it a practice to present at various festival times to each worker 10 dumplings, ½ catty of "mid-Autumn cake," ¼ catty of dried plums, ½ catty of sugar, 10 cents for making "la-pa" porridge, a food to be taken on the eighth day of the last month in the year. Besides, the factory also presented to each worker two suits of clothing and a straw hat at festival times. All these gifts were commuted in March 1927 into an annual sum of nine dollars to be paid to each worker in monthly instalments at 75 cents.

While the seasonal gifts have been commuted into money, there remains, however, still the privilege of the workers having families to receive free salt from the factory. The husband and the wife are permitted to get every month one catty of refined salt each, free of charge, while all the other members of the family including the children get only half a catty each.

To those who do special work are given by the factory garments as well as head and foot wear. For instance, the watchman receives at the beginning of the winter season a felt hat, a fur coat and a pair of felt shoes. The dispatcher and the servant are each given a raincoat and a pair of water proof shoes.

466 Recreation.—Recreational activities of the workers in the factory consist of indoor and outdoor sports, new year entertainments, summer conference and modern plays. The expenses for all these activities are met by fines from unexcused absences, though the greater portion is contributed by the factory.

466 524 (1) A room next to the Workmen's Library is reserved for indoor games. There are ping-pong, chess, (such as "Wei" chess and "military" chess), and other articles of amusement. Chess games, both Chinese and foreign, are the most popular.

466 526 (2) Outdoor sports like the swing, the iron bar, the swing bridge, stone weights, etc. are very much liked by the workers. These apparatuses are installed in the courtyard of the work-

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

with a view to getting some extra pay.

In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung. On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

465 Wage payments in the Pacific Alkali Works consist of (1) wages (2) extra month's pay (3) allowance for working overtime and (4) bonus. Extra month's pay partakes of the nature of wage in the fact that it is paid at the end of the year for work rendered during holidays. Its amount varies according to the wage scale of the worker in January. Unlike that in the Chiu Ta Factory, bonus is contingent upon the profits of the company and is paid to each worker according to his merit, No bonus is paid to the worker, if the company earns no profits in the year. As a rule, working overtime is rather infrequent in the Works, but during the period under investigation, the workers had been working 12 hours a day for eight months and they were paid for overtime work accordingly. Thus the amount is quite significant for these workers and deserves a separate classification in the group of incomes.

The following daily wage rates, excluding the commutation of gifts, for various kinds of work have been in force in the factory:—

Table 43.—The Daily Wage Scale of the Pacific Alkali Workers
(Excluding the commutation of gifts)

Kinds of Workers	Daily wage rate	
	Minimum	Maximum
Mechanics	.50 .50	1.00 .80
Electricians	.50	.80
Electricians (in charge of lighting)	.50	.60
Blacksmiths	.40	.60
Firemen	.35	.60
Stonesmiths	.40	.50
Carpenters	.30	.40
Masons	.30	.40
Apprentices	.25	.30
Common workers	.25	.30
Servants	.25	.30

It has been a practice of the factory to present clothing and edibles to the workers at festival times. As in Chiu Ta, these presents have been commuted since March 1927 to $9 a year.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

As a result of the commutation of the gifts, the minimum wage of the Pacific worker was increased from $0.25 to $0.275 a day, or $8.25 a month. Newcomers who have been in the factory for less than three months are not entitled to this income and their monthly wage is therefore only $7.50. 465

At the time of our investigation, May 1927, it was found that the 505 workers were distributed according to the wage groups as in Table 44.

Table 44.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Wage Groups

Monthly wages[1]	Mechanics	Firemen	Assistants	Apprentices	Common workers	Total
Under $8.25	—	—	—	17	27[2]	44
$ 8.25 and under $13.25	11	3	22	15	313	364
$13.25 and under $18.25	20	4	—	—	8	32
$18.25 and under $23.25	28	8	—	—	1	37
$23.25 and under $28.25	19	—	—	—	—	19
$28.25 and under $33.25	7	—	—	—	—	7
$33.25 and nnder $38.25	2	—	—	—	—	2
All wages	87	15	22	32	349	505
Average of wages	$ 20.40	$ 17.41	$ 10.19	$ 8.34	$ 9.04	$ 11.25
Median of wages	$ 19.55	$ 19.15	$ 10.75	$ 7.25	$ 8.75	$ 8.95

[1] Including the commutation of gifts.
[2] All of them had been in the factory for less than three months.

We use wage groups instead of wage scales because within the range of from $6.75 to $35.75 per month there happened as many as forty different levels. It will be seen from the table that more than three-fifths of the mechanics are above the $18.25 level, the firemen are between $8.25 to 23.25, both the assistants and the apprentices are under $13.25, and nine-tenths of the common workers, are on the $8.25 to 13.25 level.

The rate of the increase of wages is from $1 to $4 for mechanics, firemen and assistants, and from $0.40 to $1.60 for common workers and apprentices. The raise of wages is usually made in July every year, in accordance with the recommendations made by the supervisors in their reports.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 mention. A factory hospital, a workmen's school and a consumers' co-operative store are operated by both factories, while the Ming Hsin Primary School, supported by the Chiu Ta Factory, provided excellent educational facilities for children of workers and staff members. The Chiu Ta Factory, operating ten years earlier than the Pacific, surpasses the latter in several respects of welfare work. There are in the Chiu Ta Workmen's Dormitory, 40 bed rooms, 5 sickrooms, 2 classrooms and rooms for dining, bathing, laundry and other purposes. The factory supplies fuel, light and water free, food at cost and barber service at a very reasonable rate. As to recreation, indoor and outdoor games, typical Chinese New Year amusements, summer conference and modern plays are open to all. Houses are rented to the families of workers at a very moderate rate. Refined salt and wood shavings are given to them free from time to time. Besides, systems of savings deposit and family remittance have been installed to encourage thrift among the workers, and the Mutual Aid Society has been organized to help workers in emergency. The Pacific Alkali Works, handicaped by financial conditions, only provides, at the expenses of the factory, dormitory, fuel and light, water and service of family remittance, but the workers are allowed to enjoy some of the benefits of Chiu Ta workers. All these services, especially those of Chiu Ta, have reduced the living expenses of the workers, by so much that in reality they amount to additional wages.

● 465 The earnings of both Chiu Ta and Pacific workers consist of wages, extra month's pay, allowance for working overtime and the commutation of gifts; but to the Chiu Ta workers, two kinds of bonus, general and salt, should be added. Except the wages of apprentices, both factories have fixed the minimum wage at $7.50 a month, or $8.25 a month including the commutation of gifts. The general average of monthly wages is $10.50 for Chiu Ta and $11.25 for Pacific. This difference is chiefly due to the fact that the latter has more highly-paid skilled labourers than the former. If we calculate the wages on a daily basis and compare them with those of the factory workers in Tientsin at

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

the end of 1927[1], it will be found that the minimum wage and the mode of wages in Tangku were slightly lower than those in Tientsin (see the table following). However it does not follow

Daily Wages	Tangku		Tientsin			
	Chiu Ta	Pacific	Cotton mill	Tobacco factory	Match factory	Flour mill
Maximum	$1.05	$1.16	$1.25	$0.97	$1.00	$1.00
Minimum	0.25	$0.25	0.30	0.18	0.30	0.40
Mode	0.25	$0.25	0.50	0.40	0.50	0.60

that factory workers in Tangku were less paid. On the one hand, the monthly wages are supplemented by other payments as indicated above; on the other, they are furnished with every convenience of living which serves directly or indirectly as wage equivalent. Taking all the factors in consideration, the real income of the Chiu Ta and Pacific workers far exceeds that of the workers of other factories.

The sources and general average of the incomes actually earned by the 197 workers investigated during the yearly period July 1920-June 1927 may be summarized in the following table.

	Wages	Extra month's pay	Allowance for working overtime	Gifts commuted	General bonus	Salt bonus	Gratuities	Total average income
86 Chiu Ta resident workers	$107.72	$8.42	$0.09	$8.95	$17.41	$13.74	—	$156.33
61 Chiu Ta workers having families	141.56	11.36	0.42	9.00	21.83	5.62	$2.42	192.27
50 Pacific resident workers	131.51	9.84	15.55	8.96	—	—	—	165.87
	PER CENT							
86 Chiu Ta resident workers	68.9	5.4	0.1	5.7	11.1	8.8	—	100.0
61 Chiu Ta workers having families	65.6	5.3	0.2	4.2	10.1	2.6	1.1	100.0
50 Pacific resident workers	79.3	5.9	9.4	5.4	—	—	—	100.0

[1] The data were kindly supplied by the Chamber of Japanese Merchants in Tientsin.